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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role of "deans of women" at coeducational universities in the United States at the turn of the century, focusing on the careers of Marion Talbot (University of Chicago, 1892-1925), Mary Bidwell Breed (Indiana University, 1901-1906), Ada Comstock (University of Minnesota, 1906-1912), and Lois Kimball Mathews (University of Wisconsin, 1911-1918). It discusses the actions that each woman took to make coeducation a success at her institution. The paper reviews the role of Talbot in organizing the first conference for deans of women in Chicago in 1903, as well as Breed's role as president of the Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities, founded by the group in 1905. It then examines the role of Comstock in the creation of the Student Self-Government Association at Minnesota in 1906 to help run the school's female dormitory, as well as Mathews's role at Wisconsin and the influence of her book, "The Dean of Women," the first book on the profession that eventually became known as student affairs. (Contains 36 references.) (MDM)

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From Matron to Maven: A New Role and New Professional Identity for Deans of Women, 1892 to 1918

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The term "dean of women" often conjures up one of two enduring stereotypes—either of matronly, curmudgeonly chaperons or innocuous mother figures.[1] Yet neither of those two characterizations, despite their persistence in the popular imagination, is wholly accurate. By the turn of the century, it was instead, a position "in which intelligent, well-qualified, well-educated women could exercise administrative skills and professional leadership and exert a unifying influence on behalf of women."[2] The position of dean also played an interesting historical role by being the first systemic, administrative response in higher education to cope with a new, and essentially unwelcome, population.[3]

These well-qualified, well-educated deans did help improve the material lot of women students. But most importantly, the deans—at least a small cadre of leaders—between the years of 1892 and 1918, for-ged a new professional identity for themselves as the first senior women administrators on coeducational univer-sity campuses. Their efforts to create a profession for women—its initial success and what I see as the eventual reversal of fortune—reveals typical difficulties faced by professional women in the early twentieth century.

This forum does not allow the time to develop the full history of deans, my reasons for subject selection, or a full debate about the nature of professionalization. So, I begin at the point where a group of women took the initial steps necessary to create a profession and conclude when a professional association was established. I have looked at the careers of four women; each of whom made singular contributions, yet at times, was also representative of other deans serving in the same era. They are: Marion Talbot, University of Chicago, 1892 - 1925; Mary Bidwell Breed, Indiana University, 1901 - 1906; Ada Comstock, University of Minnesota, 1906 - 1912; Lois Kimball Mathews, University of Wisconsin, 1911 - 1918.

Step 1: Laying the Intellectual Foundation

The story begins with the appointment of Marion Talbot at the University of Chicago in 1892. Talbot was passionately devoted to making sure that the young women enjoyed the full advantages of a university education. She understood the anti-coeducation sentiment that prevailed and she, like the other three deans I will be discussing, wanted to change the university and make it a more hospitable environment for women. Talbot was responsible for initiating two of the five strategies for professional-ization used by the deans—articulated purpose and collective activity.

Talbot articulated a purpose for women's education that she believed would both lay the intellectual foundations for the work of deans and minimize resistance to coeducation. She combined several strains of nineteenth century thought of which I will highlight two.

First, she believed in modernist ideas about the inherent rationality of all human beings which implied that women were as capable of intellectual thought as men. As she stated unequivocally in her book, *The Education of Women,* "women have proved their ability to enter every realm of knowledge. They must have the right to do it. ... Unhampered by traditions of sex, women will naturally and without comment seek the intellectual goal which they think good and fit."[4]

Yet, Talbot never completely let go of all the vestiges of Victorian notions of propriety and separate spheres, other than intellectual, so the second component of her belief was that women were unique from men and required an environment that was special or distinct. Her beliefs in the benefits of a separate women's community placed Talbot firmly within the tradition of late nineteenth century feminists who adopted what Estelle Freedman referred to as "separatism as a strategy." The women "preferred to retain membership in a separate female sphere, one which they did not believe to be inferior to men's sphere and one in which

women could be free to create their own forms of personal, social, and political relationships."[5] Creating essentially a separate-but-equal social life for women, as historian Joyce Antler has noted, often reinforced the sexual status-quo by making the separate spheres seem immutable and perhaps this actually limited the choices for women. Yet, the creation of a discrete "social structure ... was a positive response to the pervasive sexism on campus."[6]

Talbot was attacked by opponents of coeducation who argued that women should be in separate classrooms as well. But Talbot firmly stated that mixed classrooms were the only way to insure equivalent educational opportunities and that the needed "special" environment was for the out-of-classroom lives of women. As such, Talbot acted as an intellectual bridge between the older view that feminine uniqueness implied intellectual limitations ("true womanhood") and the "new womanhood."[7] By asserting that women were academically capable in any field and the need for unique circumstances applied only to the social realm, she secured for women a safe place within the university, maintained propriety, and yet kept all avenues of mental exploration open. Her view laid the foundation for the professional work of deans.

Step 2: Collective Activity

Talbot took the next step in professionalization and communicated her beliefs with other deans of women. She published widely in various education journals, especially the *Journal of the ACA*, but most importantly she initiated the first collective activity of deans by organizing the first professional conference. She decided to invite several women from nearby colleges and universities for a two-day conference in November of 1903.

Eighteen women, including Mary Bidwell Breed of nearby Indiana University, arrived in Chicago in the autumn of 1903.[8] All the deans represented institutions in

the midwest (except the dean of the college of Barnard) so it was not surprising that the meeting's official title was the Conference of Deans of Women of the Middle West. Ten of the women were from private institutions while eight represented state universities. Twelve of the women held faculty appointments in addition to their work as deans.

Not surprisingly, the first substantive topic addressed was the issue of women's housing—the most pressing "thin" or basic student need that deans faced—but they discussed other problems as well.[9] The deans voted to meet two years hence and passed a series of resolutions summing up the collective opinion of the group. Mary Breed was then elected president of the 1905 meeting.

Some time in the intervening two years between the first and second meeting, a decision was made to limit the membership of the group to deans of women in state universities with the exception of Talbot. No record exists of who made the decision or why, but when the deans met in Chicago in December of 1905, the gathering was convened as the *first* meeting of "The Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities." With the exception of Lucy Sprague from the University of California, all participants were from midwestern institutions. The early leadership of the new profession was securely in the hands of women working in the midwestern, public sector.[10]

One interesting development at the 1905 meeting, however, was that the deans at this meeting went beyond deliberations of the basic needs of students. The first resolution passed was on ways of making a community of women on campus which they believed was "absolutely necessary."[11] The deans also discussed levels of scholarship, the place of domestic science in the curriculum, and held almost unanimous agreement that the classroom should not be segregated by gender.

The biennial conferences not only aided the individual women in the course of their daily jobs by recommending standards of practice, but they were also a

mechanism for communication among one another. Most importantly, however, they helped shape an identity for the new profession. A conference illustrated that the number of practioners was growing, that they had an articulated purpose and a field of expertise, and placed deans of women within the tradition of all other university administrators of the era who were also forming professional organizations and developing professional identities.

One very significant obstacle that deans on the state university campuses faced was resistance to their presence and their work. Breed's problem was illustrative. When she took up residence in Bloomington in the fall of 1901, she met with resentment from both students and faculty. The president who recruited her believed deans were desirable, but several male faculty members expressed resistance to the idea of a dean of women—not because of her potential effect on students—but because they objected to having a woman with any administrative authority at any level on campus.[12] By the time of Breed's appointment only three other women had *ever* been employed by the university.[13]

Breed also met resistance from students who believed a dean was an affront to their integrity or feared possible limitations on their newly found freedom.[14] Gertrude Martin who later became a dean herself, recalled her undergraduate days at the University of Michigan when they learned of Marion Talbot at nearby University of Chicago. "We resented that Chicago dean of women as an unwarrantable criticism of the conduct of college women in general. We were very certain we needed no disciplining."[15]

Evidence left by students including letters and diaries suggests that deans on many campuses were successful in reversing resentment and converting it to a respect that sometimes verged on reverence.[16] Breed's strategy to win over opponents was rather straightforward to a modern reader, but it was new at the time—she expanded her role beyond discipline, involved students in policies and

program decisions, and advocated for women in ways that made tangible differences in their lives. For example, she secured membership in the ACA so that Indiana students were eligible for certain scholarships.

Such high regard should not obscure the fact that deans and female students were not always of one mind. There were components of a generation gap and elements of a disciplinarian/disciplined relationship. There were class tensions at times between the largely private-school educated deans and state university students. Students and deans shared many political objectives, especially in reform-oriented areas, but many women students were pro-suffrage and deans were generally silent on this issue. Students agitated for more freedom in male-female socialization which also caused a split between the two generations of women.[17] Deans thought students were too frivolous; students thought deans were old fashioned, perhaps sexually unfulfilled or even "deviant."[18] But overall, female students had very few adult female role models on coeducational campuses between 1900 and 1920 and even fewer advocates.

Step 3: Becoming an Expert

The next phase of professionalization called for the development of expertise: deans became experts in women's education in coeducational settings. This phase, roughly from 1905-1912, was marked by a growing professional maturity among the deans. Deans regularly published in educational journals, made connections to other professional women in education (especially the ACA), and became more "scientific." In 1911, the first statistical research project on the work of deans was conducted and distributed.[19] This intellectual activity, Lucy Sprague said, saved the profession from the "bog of discipline and decorum."[20]

When Ada Comstock became dean of women at Minnesota she was able to employ the strategies suggested by her colleagues for coping with the most basic

deaning issues such as housing, so she was free to devote energy to other matters. She collected data on students and illustrated the systematic, more "scientific" approach to the job. She helped articulate the specific expertise needed by deans, building upon the ideas of women's nature previously expressed by Talbot. She used her expertise as the basis for the campus programs she initiated and communicated her ideas to other deans.

Comstock's initiatives were dedicated to addressing the higher, nested needs of women such as a sense of community, leadership roles, employment, and intellectual opportunities. As far a students were concerned, this was the strategy with the most tangible results. One of Comstock's first acts was to fight the use of the word "coed" in the Minneapolis and campus publications and the ridicule that women faced in the guise of humor. Although she was only partially successful, fighting public mockery became a cause several of her peers took up as well.

Creating a sense of community for the young women was Comstock's highest priority and the Alice Shevlin Hall on campus was central to her mission. She described it as her most effective "tool."[21] Comstock recognized that universities were organizations created and run by men "and however kindly the individual members of the faculty may show themselves ... the close discipleship which the young men may enjoy ... are not so easily attainable to the young women."[22] She realized that women students needed a physical place on campus to rest, study, eat, and associate with one another to ease the loneliness and feelings of isolation.[23] In several respects, it was not unlike contemporary women's centers found on many campuses today.

The mechanism Comstock used to develop leadership skills and responsibility in students was the Student Self-Government Association which was voted in by students in December of 1906 for the purpose of aiding in the care and conduct of Alice Shevlin Hall.[24] Such associations originated in the women's colleges and

Comstock herself had been part of an Association at Smith College. Comstock believed that student-developed and student-enforced policies achieved more positive outcomes than those dictated by administrators. In the meantime, the process taught students about leadership, consensus, law and order, and good citizenship.[25]

A student's need to finance her education, find suitable employment, and develop career aspirations was as important to Comstock as building a dormitory. She wanted to "fit" women for a greater variety of gainful occupations.[26] Comstock conducted research and found that fifteen percent of women students were at least partially self-supporting (compared with sixty-four percent of the men). On average, the women earned $191 while their male classmates earned $306 per year on the job. The women worked in very female-oriented occupations including housekeeping, child care, office clerking, tutoring, and other secretarial work. Comstock believed that low salaries obligated women to work longer hours and she observed that the women often suffered from overwork and exhaustion. She also discovered that despite the hardship, the self-supporting women did as well academically as their non-working counterparts.[27]

Comstock took it upon herself to oversee the employment of women, making sure that it was safe and fairly paid. She once said that "this aspect of the work of my office is of very great interest to me. It brings me in contact with many girls whom I am especially glad to know."[28] She used Shevlin Hall as a clearing house for job listings, but often the choices were limited. To increase employment opportunities, Comstock spent the Christmas vacation of 1911-12 walking up and down the streets of the Twin Cities trying to convince department stores of the sagacity of hiring women. She found that they "were particularly impregnable to the suggestion."[29]

Step 4: Professional Literature/Professional Association

Successfully initiating programs such as those created by Comstock and insuring that women had full intellectual participation in the campus became the *raison d'être* of the young profession of dean of women before 1918. Some deans, however, believed that their work on behalf of students and their own sense of self-esteem would be enhanced and legitimated if the overall status of the position was elevated. Lois Mathews, at the University of Wisconsin from 1911 to 1918, was of such a mind. She believed that deans of women should also be members of the faculty and have more of the attributes normally associated with a profession—including a professional literature and formal training for aspirants.

Mathews was a protégé of Frederick Jackson Turner and the first women to pass Harvard's Ph.D. examination in history. In her long and occasionally heated negotiations with Charles Van Hise, president of the university, she held out for the title of dean (rather than advisor as he suggested) and the rank of associate professor. She said, "if I were to undertake so great and serious a task as the deanship of women in the University of Wisconsin, it seemed to me it would be my first duty to make it in stature what it is in opportunity; and at the same time to try to make it an example to other universities in that regard."[30]

Mathews scholarly potential and productivity prior to entering Wisconsin was considerable—she produced a very important book in 1909 that had its last printing in 1962; her career was quite disappointing after she was made dean. Although she continued to teach, she did not contribute much after 1912 to the field of history. Unfortunately, Mathews' experience was very typical. All four women in this study were trained as faculty members and all four found their scholarly progress impeded by the exigencies of administrative positions.

Mathews was very dedicated to her new profession and brought to it the same intellectual vigor that she had applied to history. While dean, she had numerous

public speaking engagements, published several articles, and spoke frequently at ACA and the biennial deans' conferences. [31] She invited aspiring deans to visit her on the Madison campus to learn about the job. She organized a state-wide conference for all women deans in Wisconsin, including those from small colleges and normal schools.[32] In the summer of 1915 she taught a course in "College Administration for Women," which was the first of its kind taught in a public university and was offered concurrently with the first courses taught on the subject at Teachers College.[33]

Her most lasting contribution, however, was her 1915 book, *The Dean of Women*, the first book ever written on the profession that eventually became known as student affairs.[34] Mathews held a particular vision for the profession. She believed deans should be faculty members and scholars, experts on women's education, disciplinarians, and advocates for women who expanded the social, vocational, and intellectual opportunities available to them. This book represented the collective wisdom of Mathews and her like-minded peers.

Talbot, Breed, Comstock, and Mathews worked in large universities and simultaneously held faculty positions. However, deans of women were also hired in other types of institutions such as smaller colleges and normal schools. Deans in these environments (and in some universities) began to question the need for dual faculty appointments—they chose instead to emphasize the counseling, guidance, and regulatory nature of their work. A few women with this point of view were studying for a master's degree at Teachers College in the summer of 1916 when they formed the National Association for Deans of Women. The NADW eventually became the professional organization for all deans and there was virtually no emphasis placed on importance of faculty rank to the position of dean.

Lois Mathews' vision of deans as scholars lost out to the newer vision of the profession which was shared by the newly created office of dean of men.[35] Many

student affairs practioners were acutely aware that they suffered a lack of prestige within the academy. Therefore, in terms of the administrative influence of deans of women, the era examined in my study represented a high point. Later decades saw it reduced in stature when former deans of women, who had once reported directly to the president, subsequently became assistants who reported to deans of students.[36] I think it is intriguing to speculate on whether the strategy that Mathews proposed—holding dual faculty/administrative appointments—might have helped the profession of dean of women maintain or even increase its prestige on campus. As a result of separating themselves from the faculty, deans were isolated from any important power base within the academy.

Is there a place in a modern coeducational university for a dean of women? It is currently the case that many of the functions historically performed by deans of women such as housing, career advising, discipline, and health care are executed by various student affairs professionals of both genders. But to assume that such functions were the *sine qua non* of the work of the pioneers such as Talbot, Breed, Comstock, and Mathews is to ignore the historical evidence. What drove the pioneering deans to create a new model for the role was a desire to address inequities in coeducational environments, attend to the intellectual development of women students, and move beyond providing basic needs and discipline.

There is still a need to help women combat the effects of sexism, achieve intellectual parity, and find a community on campus. If the work of a dean, in the tradition of the pioneers, is needed, perhaps it is being accomplished today by professionals such as the heads of women's studies programs or the directors of women's centers. So, while a person with the title of dean may not be needed, someone with her agenda most assuredly is.

Footnotes:

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[1] My work is placed within the tradition of historians who look beyond the institutional histories or the lives of presidents. As early as 1971, James Axtell said that historians should pay more attention to lives of students, especially their out of classroom experiences, in the history of higher education. Historians of women's education have particularly heeded his call, but there have been others as well. See James Axtell, "The Death of the Liberal Arts College," *History of Education Quarterly* 2 (Winter 1971): 339-52. Two examples of particularly student-oriented work are Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987).
These two contrasting stereotypes of dean of women were provided by Kathryn Sisson McLean Phillips, "The Work of a Dean of Women" (Master's Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, n.d. [probably 1919]), 3.
[2]Paula A. Treichler, "Alma Mater's Sorority: Women and the University of Illinois, 1890-1925," in *For Alma Mater: Theory and Practice in Feminist Scholarship*, eds. Paula A. Treichler, Cheris Kramarae, and Beth Stafford (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 24.
[3]There was a brief time at William and Mary when they had an officer for Indian students. See J. E. Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsburg, VA: The Endowment Association of the College of William and Mary, 1976), 67-69 and "Narrative of Bacon's Rebellion," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 4 (October 1896): 172.
In addition, Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: A. Knopf, 1962; reprint, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990), makes no mention of officers at other colleges. Bobby Wright, "For the Children of the Infidels?: American Indian Education in the Colonial Colleges," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12 (1988): 1-14, makes the point that the Colonial colleges generally ignored their commitment to educate Native Americans despite receiving financial aid from the English government and various missionary societies to do so.
[4]Marion Talbot, *The Education of Women* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910), 22.
[5]Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as a Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5 (Fall 1979): 514.
[6]Joyce Antler, *Lucy Sprague Mitchell: The Making of a Modern Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 98-9. She was discussing the situation at the University of California at Berkeley, but the debate between a separate versus integrated social life for women was applicable to almost any coeducational institution. The debate still rages.
[7]That phrase is from Freedman, "Separatism as a Strategy," 518. See also Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 47.
[8]Information about the meeting is from "Minutes of the Conference of Deans of Women of the Middle West, 1903," The Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH. (Hereafter, CAC) and Mary Ross Potter, "Report of Committee on History of the National Association of Deans of Women," *NADW Yearbook*, (1927), 212-16.
[9]Carolyn Terry Bashaw, "We Who Live 'off on the edges'": Deans of Women at Southern Coeducational Institutions and Access to the Community of Higher Education, 1907-1960" (Ph. D. diss., University of Georgia, 1992), 7, discussed Nancy Fraser's "need claims" and thereby brought this work to my attention. It proved quite useful and I wish to thank Bashaw for her contribution. See Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 1989), 163.
[10]Breed's correspondence file contains two letters which indicate that she was active in setting up the meeting and making arrangements, but there is no evidence regarding whether she was part of a committee that made the membership decision.
[11]Potter, "History of the NADW," 217.

[12]Katharine Rothenberger, "An Historical Study of the Position of Dean of Women at Indiana University" (Master's thesis, Indiana University, 1942), 39.
[13]Thomas Clark, *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer*, 2 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), 1: 316.
[14]Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Limits of Access: The History of Coeducation in America," in *Women and Higher Education in American History*, eds. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988), 118.
[15]Gertrude S. Martin, "The Position of Dean of Women," *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*, Series IV 2, (March 1911): 66.
[16]In much of the historical work on deans, examples are given of the strategies the women used and the of high praise they received from students. See for example, Ellen Fitzpatrick, "For the 'Women of the University': Marion Talbot, 1858-1948," in *Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Institutions, 1870-1937* Geraldine Joncich Clifford, ed. (New York: The Feminist Press, 1989), 87-124 and Talbot's own account of her work, *More Than Lore: Reminiscences of Marion Talbot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936). Letters from students lauding Talbot are found in Ruth Haddock, "A Study of Five Deans of Women" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1952), 345-46. Ruth Haddock Dissertation. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, MA. Lois Mathews was remembered very fondly by Mrs. Helen Stephens (nee Reed), class of 1917, in an interview with the author, 20 July 1992. Other examples of praise include "Personal and Educational Contributions to UW of Mrs. Rosenberry Lauded," *Capitol Times*, 22 April 1942, 12. Linda Eisenmann noted the same phenomenon in her study of Anne Crosby Emery, the first dean of women at the University of Wisconsin and later of Pembroke College. See "'Freedom to be Womanly': The Separate Culture of the Women's College," in *The Search for Equity: Women at Brown University, 1891-1991*, Polly Welts Kaufman, ed. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1991), 55. See also, Antler, *Lucy Sprague Mitchell*, 107 for the feelings of women at Berkeley toward Sprague.
[17]Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education* , 156.
[18]See Lois Mathews, *The Dean of Women* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), especially the first chapter and Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 39.
[19]Martin, "The Position of Dean of Women," 66.
[20]Antler, *Lucy Sprague Mitchell*, 111-12.
[21]E. Bird Johnson, ed., *Forty Years of the University of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: The General Alumni Association, 1910), 194.
[22]Ada Comstock, "The Fourth R for Women," *Century Magazine* 117 (February, 1929): 413.
[23]Ada Comstock, "Report of the Dean of Women," in *The President's Report, 1911-1912, Bulletin of the University of Minnesota* 6 (January 1913): 157, Univeristy of Minnesota Archives.
[24]See various articles from the *Minnesota Daily*: 6 December, 1906, p. 1; 7 December 1906, p. 1; and 18 December 1906, p. 1.
[25]Ada Comstock, "What Student Government Means," *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* (hereafter, *MAW*), 8 (May 10, 1909): 4. See also Jessie Ladd, "What Student Government Means to the Girls," *MAW*, 9 (May 9, 1910): 7-8 for Comstock's role in the initiation of self-government.
[26]Johnson, *Forty Years*, 195.
[27]An estimate provided in Johnson, *Forty Years*. See also Comstock, "Self Supporting Students," *MAW*, 9 (February 7, 1910): 11.
[28]Ada Comstock, "The Office of Dean of Women," *MAW* 8 (March 16, 1908): 4.
[29]Roberta Yerkes Blanshard, "Ada Louise Comstock: Some of her memories of her life up to 1943, collected for reading to the Saturday Morning Club, March 16, 1974," a transcript of reminiscences, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, 11.
[30]Lois K. Mathews to Charles Van Hise, 17 April 1911, Charles Van Hise Papers, University of Wisconsin Archives (UWA).
[31]Sample titles of her speeches were, "The Educated Women in Society Today," "Relationship of the College Graduate to the Home," and "Training of Women for Social Responsibility." Records of her requests to leave campus, undated memos to President Charles Van Hise regarding her speaking

engagements, and fragments of her appointment book are found in folders marked "Dean of Women" and "Mathews" at the UWA. See also *The Daily Cardinal*, 19 November, 1913, p. 4.
Her articles included: Mathews: "Women's Self government Association;" "A Half-Century of Higher Education for Women;" "Raising the Standard of Intellectual Life;" and "Women's Self government Association."

[32]The deans' conferences were not mentioned in her Dean's Reports, but were reported by the student newspaper. See *The Daily Cardinal*, 10, 11 February, 1915, p. 6 and 7, 9 March, 1917, p. 6.

[33]Her course was listed in the University of Wisconsin *Bulletin* 1914-15, 598, under the college of education. See *The Daily Cardinal*, 1 May, 1915, p. 4 and 1 November, 1916, p. 6. Teachers College was the premier institution training women deans in a program that was a forerunner of modern student personnel programs. It offered its first course during the summer of 1915. Under the leadership of Sarah M. Sturtevant, most of the research on deans of women during the 1920s and 1930s was generated from Teachers College. Indiana University was the other institution offering this line of study on regular basis. During the 1920s, Agnes Wells offered courses through the extension school on "Administrative Work for Deans in Normal Schools, Colleges, and Universities" and a comparable course for high school deans.

[34]The second was not until 1926. See Ruth A. Merrill and Helen D. Bragdon, *The Vocation of Dean* (Washington, D. C.: Press and Publicity Committee of The National Association of Deans of Women, 1926).

[35]Barbara Catton, "Our Association in Review," *Journal of the National Association of Deans of Women*, 10 (October 1956): 4.

[36]See Elizabeth Greenleaf, "How Others See Us: ACPA Presidential Address," *Journal of College Student Personnel* 9 (July 1968): 225 for a comment on this general trend.